

Coloured cover reads:

A man protesting against terror is on the way towards uniting himself with all men that believe in truth. - Carlyle

Manifesto  
of the  
No-Party League  
of Western Canada

Designed to teach the complete community of interest of all who live, and desire to live by useful labor, whether of hand or brain, whether in field, factory or elsewhere, according to their gifts and the public need that they may unite to obtain control of the machinery of government now in the hands of those who live by owning, and use it for the advancement of the common weal.

Then none was for a party, then all were for the state;  
Then the great man helped the poor, and the poor man loved the great;  
Then lands were fairly portioned, then spoils were fairly sold;  
The Romans were like brothers in the brave days of old.

- Macaulay.

Prepared by E.A. Partridge, at request of the Founders of the League, and revised and endorsed by a Committee composed of R.M. Douglas, J. Styon and D. Ross, appointed for that purpose.

Per copy 10c \$1.00 per dozen

Back cover reads:

But crown her Queen, and Equity shall usher in  
For those who build and those who spin,  
And those the grain who garner in, a brighter day.

- Anon.

Equity does not permit property in land. For if one portion of the earth's surface may justly become the possession of an individual, and may be held by him for his sole use and benefit, as a thing to which he has exclusive right, then other portions of the whole of the earth's surface may be so held, and eventually the whole of the earth's surface may be so held, and our planet may thus lapse altogether into private hands. Observe now the dilemma to which this leads. Supposing the entire habitable globe to be so enclosed; it follows that, if the landowners have a valid right to its surface, all who are not landowners have no right at all to its surface. Hence, such can exist on the earth by sufferance only. They are all trespassers. Save by permission of the lords of the soil, they can have no room for the soles of their feet. Nay, should the others think fit to deny them a resting-place, those landless men might equitably be expelled from the earth altogether. If then, the assumption that land can be held as property involves that the whole globe may become the private domain of a part of its inhabitants; and if, by consequence, the rest of its inhabitants can then exercise their faculties - can then exist even - only by consent of the land owners, it is manifest that an exclusive possession of the soil necessitates an infringement of the law of equal freedom, for men who cannot live and move and have their being without the leave of others, cannot be equally free with those others.

- Spencer

But the Soul is still oracular; amid the market's din  
List the ominous stern whisper from the Delphic Cave  
within:

"They enslave their children's children who make compromise with sin."

- Lowell

# DECLARATION OF INDEPENDENCE

When in the course of human events, it becomes necessary for one people to dissolve the political bands which have connected them with another, and to assume among the powers of the earth, the separate and equal station to which the laws of Nature and of Nature's God entitle them, a decent respect to the opinions of mankind requires that they should declare the causes which impel them to the separation.

We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness. — That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed, — That whenever any Form of Government becomes destructive of these ends, it is the Right of the People to alter or to abolish it, and to institute new Government, laying its foundation on such principles and organizing its powers in such form, as to them shall seem most likely to effect their Safety and Happiness. Prudence, in such a case, wisely suggests what form of Government for one People is most likely to be the best for another. The People are therefore not bound to support Governments in which they have no share, nor do they ever have a right to be taxed by those who have no voice in the taxation. But whenever any long train of abuses and usurpations, pursuing invariably the same Object, evinces a design to reduce them under absolute Tyranny, it is their right, it is their duty, to throw off such Government, and to provide new Guards for their future security. — Such has been the patient sufferance of these Colonies, and such has been the gradual increase of the abuses, that they have now reached that state, in which a more complete separation from the British Crown is the only method which will preserve them.

In the name of the Sovereign, we do hereby declare, that the United Colonies by these presents, do solemnly, mutually, and exclusively, separate themselves from Great Britain, and that they are now, and hereafter, to be free and independent States.

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[illegible]

1. The Commission is authorized to receive and accept gifts of money or property for the state and to hold, manage, and dispose of the same for the purposes of the commission.

Discussed in the book are the problems of the various "founders" of the League, and the role of the League in the development of the various "schools" of thought. The book is a good read for anyone interested in the history of the League, and the role of the various "schools" of thought.

Page 600 of 600



Written in 1913 —

## THE NO-PARTY LEAGUE

But the scales are already beginning to fall from our eyes; and now one, now another, is perceiving that things as they are are stupid and wrong; that they conduce to the happiness neither of the rich nor of the poor; that violent inequality and unbrotherliness lead to pain and misery among all but the selfish—even among those who "have," while, among those who "have not," it leads to stunted souls and a degrading search after forgetfulness and oblivion—so that there is taken away from them even that which they have.—Lodge.

### A Great Unrest Among Working Farmers.

There is a great unrest among Western farmers, particularly among those of them who have been trying to get a decent living by honestly working for it.

### The Conditions Responsible for the Unrest.

The present unrest is due to the fact that despite their great annual contribution as a class to the world's supply of food-stuffs, and the years of effort they have put forth individually and through their membership in vocational associations, such as the Grain Growers' Association and the Grain Growers' Grain Company, and in political party organizations, to secure an improvement in their financial position, and thereby an increase in comfort, opportunity, and sense of security in their lives and the lives of their families, they find their condition continually growing more insecure and hopeless of amendment.

While the rich grabbers of fat, public-service franchises and the choicest portions of the public domain, the monopolistic owners and controllers of the natural and artificial means of production, the railways and the money supply, and the mercenary-minded hirelings of these, in and out of parliament, with the horde of smaller speculators and traffickers in God's bounties and society-created opportunities who infest the land, are prospering, the farmers and other useful workers on whom these are preying, are falling into a condition of undeserved and humiliating dependence.

## The Burden of Debt.

The insistent question of the West is: What shall we do to escape from under the great burden of debt that oppresses and degrades the vast majority of our people?

We Westerners, though a young people, are already mortgaged to the hilt.

We are furnishing the food supply of a large percentage of the population of the world in a vain effort to provide ourselves with the means to live like civilized beings, educate our children, give them opportunity to be something more than hirelings, guard our old age, and pay the interest on our indebtedness. There is a big national debt, fifty dollars per head for every man, woman and child in Canada, with hopes of adding five dollars more per head to it soon. Each province has its rapidly growing provincial debt. Each city, town and rural municipality has its debt. Each dirty little country schoolhouse, with its pitiable equipment for the work of literary and vocational instruction, character-building and training in citizenship, is roofed with debentures and plastered with a current loan. Then do not let us forget our personal debt, the fine large mortgage and the loan at the bank.

In addition to all this, some one has to pay the interest on the huge community-created but privately-owned values of commercial and industrial building sites, docks and railway terminals, and all sorts of watered stocks and million dollar bond issues behind them.

And so a golden stream of interest is flowing out from the West, keeping our people poor, and worse than poor in pocket, poor in spirit, and ignorant.

## The Paradox of Poverty in the Midst of Plenty.

Here is a plain statement of the situation in Western Canada. It is not one that will please our land speculators or the exploiters of labor among us, but this pamphlet was not written for the purpose of stimulating immigration in the interest of these.

In a country of almost boundless natural resources, with uncounted acres of fertile plough-land and luxuriant pasturage, fine fisheries, springs of salt, huge forests, mighty deposits of iron ore, limestone, coal, cement and asphaltum, great reservoirs of natural gas and magnificent water powers—a young country scarce out of its teens, containing a mere handful of inhabitants drawn from the most efficient of the Old World peoples—we find a population of city and country workers, the great majority of whom, remembering the records of the registry offices, own neither the homes they live in, the lands they till, nor the tools they use.

## The Chief Cause of Poverty and the Inefficiency, Ignorance and Mean-Spiritedness Consequent Thereto.

In the treatment of disease, symptoms are often mistaken for the cause of the disorder and attacked as such.

High cost of living to consumers, low prices or low wages to producers, over-production coincident with under-consumption, the increasing arrogance and tyranny of the rich, the growing servility and dependence of the poor, the political corruption of the rulers, the corruptibility of the ruled, with their crop of vicious laws bearing fruit of unearned wealth and undeserved poverty, the deplorable ignorance, inefficiency and unemployability among the poor—these are symptoms of disease in the body politic, not the cause.

The fundamental cause is monopoly of God's earth—the law-supported privilege of the few so-called owners to deny to the many propertyless workers access to the natural resources, except on such terms as will leave them no chance to acquire property for themselves: in these natural resources, the tools they make and use, their dwellings, or to enjoy even the brief ownership of themselves that would enable them to withhold their labor long enough to compel a recognition of their rights by those who exploit them.

Does not this as well describe the position of the debt-oppressed farmers of our Western prairies, nominal owners though they be, as it does that of the tenement-dwelling factory workers of the cities?

## Seeking for the Remedy.

Though the farmers as a whole are not very clear as to what should be done to improve their condition, they are coming to recognize the futility of the resolutions of their class organizations, the insufficiency of their commercial enterprises, and the inadequacy of the remedial legislation secured through their political influence as a class.

Is it any wonder that they are restless and inclined to be bitter against those whose "safe and sane" leadership leads to nothing worth while, and whose applied commercial or legislative remedies bring no improvement to the financial condition of any but the leaders themselves?

What more natural than that they should clamor for the organization of a "Third Party," under new leaders, whose political wisdom or honesty of purpose they have not yet learned to doubt?

Yet what more futile than a "Third Party" launched by a farmers' organization, half the membership of which at least



is still wedded to one or other of the old parties, and in which there is such an evident lack of agreement as to the fundamental causes of their poverty as a class, and the remedy therefor?

The unrest which was exhibited at the Grain Growers' convention at Saskatoon took the form of a demand for the organization of a "Third Party," under the auspices of the Association, but there was apparently more of protest against party influence already at work in the Association than actual conviction that a "Third Party" would be very effective in removing the cause of the lack of prosperity among the farmers. At a meeting of what might be described as the insurgent faction, held after the close of the convention, the organization of a "Third Party" was not insistently urged.

The meeting when called to order was at once thrown open for a brief expression of the individual views of those present as to what was wrong and what was best to be done to right it, with the object of discovering whether there was sufficient agreement among these views to inspire reasonable hope of being able, forthwith, to initiate a political movement likely to attract popular support.

There was much divergence in the views expressed, but the majority of the speakers favored an alliance of the working farmers with the useful workers of the city to right their common wrong, which is the robbery of those who live by working by those who live by owning.

Those who wanted a farmers' movement for the benefit of farmers, whom they claimed were sixty-five per cent. of the population of Canada, and without whom the dwellers in the cities would starve, were reminded that they were not "the whole thing"—that while they rode the plow down the furrow, men in the city made it, that while they raised the wheat, city dwellers built the wagon, the car, and the steamship that carried it to market; that while they fed the dwellers in the city, these furnished them with everything that raised them above the savage—clothing, fuel, tools, houses, furniture, books, pictures, musical instruments,—all the wonderful creations of hand and brain that have come into being since the time when farmers, clothed in the skins of beasts, tilled the ground with crooked sticks.

It was shown that while farmers were sixty-five per cent of the population, the workers, including the working farmers, were ninety-five per cent; that among the sixty-five per cent. were many spoilers, or would-be spoilers of their fellows, men who lived by their owning or by their exploiting of the labor of others; that it needed the ninety-five per cent to furnish a majority of voters who recognized that the only honest way of

making a living was working for it; and that only by the capture of the machinery of government by the honest workers could conditions be secured under which these could have the comfort, opportunity and security for themselves and their families which their labors entitled them to, independent of the capricious will of a captain of industry, an earth lord or a money king.

Said one—"What we farmers need is not more parties but more sense—a larger acquaintance with the truths of political economy; not more political power as a separate class of producers but a better appreciation of the community of interest between ourselves and other productive workers, making for effective political co-operation therewith; not a clearer perception of what is politically right but a stronger determination to do the right as far as it is perceived. We have many working farmers whose only quarrel with 'Big Business' methods is that they can't employ them for their own enrichment, and it is the presence and influence of these little 'Big Business' men in our farmers' organizations which makes them hopeless as instruments of genuine reform. Only those who, being able to work, desire to live by working as the one honorable means of livelihood, have a right to grumble at things as they are, or are competent to organize a successful movement for their own and the general wellbeing. Manifestly such a movement requires the co-operation of all useful workers who are free or desire to be free from the ignominy of parasitism—preachers, teachers, physicians, architects, engineers, mechanics, farmers, miners,—every kind of worker whose activity is needed to provide a supply of all things necessary for the living of a fine, rich, purposeful life."

#### Institution of the No-Party League.

After considerable time had been spent in giving expression to individual views, the following resolution was presented to the meeting and adopted:

"Resolved, That we express ourselves as believing that one of the chief disabilities under which the workers labor is that the natural resources are out of the control of the common people, and that the remedy is to secure the control of those resources for the common people by securing the control of the machinery of legislation and government."

After further discussion it was decided to organize for educational purposes leading to intelligent and effective political action to be taken by constituencies acting separately, as quickly as sufficient unanimity of opinion and purpose was developed in each, and not sooner.

The organization was accomplished by adopting and signing the following resolution:

“Resolved, That we organize the No-Party League, open to all useful workers. Aims—to secure through Direct Legislation and Taxation of Land Values the rescue of the natural resources and public utilities from private control and their administration for the benefit of all the people.”

Signed:—

R. M. Douglas, Strassburg, S.  
G. Stevenson, Leslie, S.  
Jerry Leach, Swanson, S.  
William S. Lindsay, Nazenod, S.  
A. Cucuy, 331 Ave. F.,  
South Saskatoon, S.  
Y. Stegehms, Edom, S.  
James S. Aitken, Cheviot, S.  
H. J. Bunce, Unity, S.  
W. J. Lawless, Normanton, S.  
F. J. Scully, Wilbert, S.  
James Lindsay, Mazenod, S.  
Johnson Graham, Bienfeit, S.

J. Styon, Strassburg, S.  
W. G. Grainger, Melfort, S.  
E. A. Panabaker, Gerowville, S.  
Fred. Kirkham, Salteoats, S.  
Peter Hill, Govan, S.  
G. O. A. Travis, Govan, S.  
David Ross, Strassburg, S.  
E. A. Partridge, Sintaluta, S.  
John Evans, Nutana, S.  
John M. Pratt, Allan, S.  
W. B. Fells, Allan, S.  
N. E. Baumunk, Dundurn, S.

The proceedings were concluded by the appointment of a committee consisting of R. M. Douglas (Chairman), J. Styon, and D. Ross (Secretary), to consult and act in conjunction with E. A. Partridge in the drafting of a constitution and the preparation of literature to carry out the purposes of the No-Party League, and “to do whatever seems necessary in the interests of the League.

# CONSTITUTION

## ARTICLE I.

### Name.

Sec. 1. The organization shall be called:  
"The No-Party League."

Sec. 2. The significance of the name lies in the purpose to avoid that centralization of power in a group of general officers which characterizes party organizations and makes them easy of control by influences that render them useless as instruments of popular government. The membership in each provincial constituency will form an independent unit having complete control of its political activities, and the same principle will apply to federal constituencies.

## ARTICLE II.

### Objects.

Sec. 1. The League is designed to promote the study of social and economic truth with a view to teach the complete community of interest of all who live, and desire to live, by useful labor, whether of hand or brain, whether in field, factory or elsewhere according to their gifts and the public need, in order to bring about an effective alliance of these, without regard to vocation or previous political preference, to obtain control of the machinery of legislation and government, now in the hands of those who live by owning, and use it for the protection and advantage of those who live by working.

Sec. 2. It requires of its members the purchase, the individual study, and the distribution among their neighbors, of leaflets, pamphlets, and books dealing with social, economic and political subjects and designed to fit their readers for the duties and responsibilities of citizenship.

Sec. 3. It proposes to congregate its members on frequent occasions for oral reading and discussion of the facts and theories dealt with in the printed matter which from time to time is made the subject of study.

Sec. 4. It contemplates the holding of public meetings for propaganda purposes, but will depend mainly upon house to

house-visitation of committees of its best informed members for the spread of its opinions and the increase of its membership.

Sec. 5. It looks upon the rescue of the natural resources and public utilities from private control as absolutely essential: (a) to insure a reasonable degree of comfort, opportunity and security to those who live by working, (b) to provide for the proper rearing and equipment of all the young for the business of life, involving the teaching of every child, male and female, some useful craft and the duties of citizenship, and (c) to make provision for the honorable support of the injured, the sick and the aged.

Sec. 6. It maintains that the failure of government ownership and operation of public utilities, wherever such failure occurs, is due to the fact, that the government itself, which is the most important public utility of all, is not publicly owned and operated, and hence:

Sec. 7. It favors Direct Legislation including the Initiative, Referendum, Right of Recall and the Publicity Pamphlet features, regarding it as the first legislative step towards the establishment of the rule of the people—the workers.

Sec. 8. The second legislative step proposed is the supplying of provincial revenue needs by the Taxation of Unimproved Land Values, that is to say, the use values of land considered apart from values of improvements, the term land including all natural resources and opportunities such as mineral deposits, timber areas, water powers, water fronts, rights of way, and residential, industrial and commercial sites, as well as farm and ranch lands.

Sec. 9. It is intended that the application of "The Single Tax" shall be vigorous enough to make owning without using impossible, and to rescue the greater part of the natural resources from private and particularly from corporate ownership, and return it to the public domain.

Sec. 10. Being vigorous, it would at the same time provide as is proposed by the League, the means for taking over those public utilities the private ownership of which gives the greatest opportunity to exploit the common people.

Note—A vigorously applied, sharply graduated tax upon land values, supplemented by graduated corporation, income and inheritance taxes, all of them designed to fall lightly upon the poor and heavily upon the rich, would make it easily possible, if the necessity became apparent to the majority of the voters, for the local governments of Western Canada to establish many manufactories, now greatly needed in the West, as state enterprises, enabling the people to escape from the galling exactions of the protective tariff, the highly protected Eastern manufacturers and the transcontinental railways. The operation of these state industries would at the

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same time make the teaching of trades to children generally possible, even inexpensive, if not actually self-supporting, establish an automatic minimum wage standard, ~~and make mixed farming a~~ unemployment for industrial workers, and make mixed farming a general possibility by bringing the non-farming population into proper numerical relation to the farmers.

### ARTICLE III.

#### Membership.

Sec. 1. Any person now entitled to vote, or entitled to be registered as a voter in a Western Canadian Province, is eligible to become a member of the League.

Sec. 2. The membership of the League shall consist of those eligible persons who have signed the Constitution either as members of a local branch, or as unaffiliated members have been registered as such, and have not voluntarily withdrawn from membership by sending notice of withdrawal to the Registrar, or been expelled in due form.

Sec. 3. The expulsion of a member is effected by a vote in which three-fifths of the membership of a local branch having jurisdiction over the area in which such member resides, declares in favor of expulsion, and the sending of notice of such vote to the Registrar.

Sec. 4. Persons not eligible for full membership but in sympathy with the objects of the League and desirous of participating in its educational features, may be admitted as Associate Members by any local branch, but without voting privileges, nor are they registered.

### ARTICLE IV.

#### Organization of Local Branches.

Sec. 1. Local branches may be formed by ten or more eligible persons resident in the same school district in rural localities, or in the same defined area in large towns or cities, but not more than one branch shall be registered in the same district or area.

Sec. 2. The organization of a branch is effected by the required number of eligible persons assembling, reading together and signing the Constitution, passing and signing in duplicate a resolution to organize, electing a President and Secretary, sending a signed duplicate of the resolution and the names of the officers to the Registrar, and paying the required fees.

Sec. 3. For organizing rural locals the following form of resolution may be used:

“Resolved that we the undersigned eligible persons assembled at.....this.....day of.....19...., having signed the Constitution of the No-Party League, do hereby organize

ourselves into a local branch of it to be known as The.....  
(Name of S.D.)  
Branch of the No-Party League situate near.....  
(Name of P.O.)  
in the Provincial Constituency of.....in the Province of  
.....

Sec. 4. For organizing urban locals the above form must be varied to define the area in the city, and the city, in which the branch is located.

Sec. 5. As soon as a local branch is organized, all unaffiliated members in the school district or defined civic area in which it is situated, automatically become affiliated with it, unaffiliated membership being permissible only in advance of the formation of the local.

Sec. 6. Not later than thirty days after a new member joins a local, his name must be sent in to the Registrar.

Sec. 7. While not less than ten may form a local branch, unaffiliated members are recommended to meet together to study and carry on propaganda work by house to house visitations and otherwise. Membership and organization of local branches must not be permitted to outrun intelligent acceptance of the fundamental dogmas of the League, namely: (a) that those who earn a living by working, that is, who by the exercise of their physical or mental powers render some adequate service in return for services enjoyed, should constitute the ruling class and both supply and select parliamentary representatives; (b) that to rule well they must have both knowledge and wisdom, must know the truth that makes men free and possess the righteousness (right wisdom, wisdom) which exalteth a nation, and hence that education in morals and true political economy should precede and prepare the way for political action; and (c) that the proper function of government is to do all things necessary, however far beyond present practice, to fully equip the young for the business of life, to enlarge to the limit the opportunity of the useful workers to enjoy the blessings of life to which their work entitles them, and to give protection against want to the injured, the sick and the aged.

Sec. 8. When a local is organized in any school district, or defined city area, it should undertake through its distribution of literature recommended by the General Educational Committee, and by the work of its own committees, to reach and endeavor to interest every resident eligible for membership.

Sec. 9. Adjacent districts and areas should be invaded and propaganda work done looking to the organization of a branch, or at least a committee of unaffiliated members, as soon as the home territory has been covered.

Sec. 10. Local branches may be organized in any school district, or city area, in Canada west of the head of the Great Lakes.

## ARTICLE V.

### Branch Locals.

Sec. 1. The locals have complete control of their own affairs except as they are bound by the terms of the Constitution and later by any voluntary agreements they may make with other locals for group action. The local must not, however, as an organized body, either alone or in conjunction with other locals, enter into an alliance with a political party to elect the candidate of that party. Nor as an organized body in any election, whether in school district, municipality or parliamentary constituency, may they nominate a candidate of their own until by a preliminary vote it has been shown that he has the support of a sufficient number of members of the League to insure his election, even though all other voters likely to vote in such election should vote against him.

Sec. 2. When a local League is strong enough in a school district to elect the school trustees its members should elect them. The local educational standards should be raised as a consequence and the school premises should be adapted by the use of moveable furniture, the supplying of seats for adults, lights, and where necessary, stabling, to accommodate the social and educational activities of the grown people in the district.

Sec. 3. When a rural or a town municipality, or a ward in a city, is sufficiently organized, municipal candidates should be brought out and elected by the League by a union of locals. Public utilities operated municipally can thus be secured while organizing for larger ends in the provincial and inter-provincial arenas.

Sec. 4. In the same way a larger number of locals united for the purpose would bring out and elect a member in each constituency where a trial vote has shown a proposed candidate to have the support of a sufficient number of League members to elect him. The activity of the membership of each constituency is put upon an independent basis. The quicker they get organized, the sooner they can get a parliamentary representative.

Sec. 5. In all cases, however, action looking to the election of a League candidate must be deferred till the membership of the League in the electoral area is at least equal to one-half the vote cast at the last similar election, and even then no candidate must be nominated as the candidate of the League till the preliminary vote has demonstrated that he will command a suffi-



cient number of League voters to insure his election. In no other way can men of small means, genuine working men of the people, men free from the taint of the money interest, be assured of election, and only by the presence of a majority of such men in the legislature can a government in the interest of the common people be secured. Better to delay action, however great the need, till success is assured in the first trials of strength. While "nothing succeeds like success," nothing fails like failure at the beginning of a popular movement.

Sec. 6. It is recommended that locals meet weekly for class study, discussion and other work connected with the movement. (To such as regard this movement as a form of communal service, a working for social justice, a striving to express the prayer, "Thy Kingdom come" in deeds, the holding of an occasional Sunday afternoon meeting is suggested, particularly where the local religious teachers give their endorsement to the proposal and will take part in the work).

## ARTICLE VI.

### Fees.

Sec. 1. An unaffiliated member must send in to the Registrar a fee of ten cents for the registration of his name.

Sec. 2. A local branch must pay a fee of ten cents per name to the Registrar for the registration of the names of its members.

Sec. 3. Each local branch must also pay a branch fee of one dollar to the Secretary of the General Educational Committee.

Sec. 4. The Constitution fixes no fees for the maintenance of the local branches. The money necessary for its needs, or the needs of a joint committee of a number of locals acting in concert for any purpose, may be raised by collection, voluntary subscription, funds from entertainments, assessments, or a membership fee may be fixed by vote of each local according to the will of its members.

## ARTICLE VII.

### General Officers.

Sec. 1. There shall be a committee known as the General Educational Committee, consisting of three members with power to add two to their numbers. It shall be the duty of this committee to select a number of leaflets, pamphlets and books which they will recommend as suitable for distribution for propaganda purposes or to be used as text books by the members. They will also undertake to prepare oral reading courses for League meetings and private study courses. It may also be possible for them to arrange for lecturers to address arranged series of League meetings.

Sec. 2. There shall be a Registrar who shall keep a record of membership and make public from time to time the growth of the movement. Also he shall keep a record of local branches and their executive officers to facilitate intercourse and co-operation.

Sec. 3. All officers hold office only till the next general meeting of the League or until recalled by a majority vote of the membership.

## ARTICLE VIII.

### General Meetings.

Sec. 1. In the calling together of delegates from the local branches for any purpose, ten members shall be the unit of representation.

Sec. 2. General meetings of the League shall consist of the Registrar and members of the General Educational Committee, if present, and delegates from the local branches, and shall be presided over by a temporary chairman and served by a temporary secretary elected by the meeting, and whose offices expire with the sine die adjournment of the meeting.

Sec. 3. Delegates representing twenty-five per cent. of all the locals shall constitute a quorum. A delegate, however, may represent more than one local, but shall only have one vote.

Sec. 4. A general meeting shall only be called by the Registrar, or in case of his failure to act, by the General Educational Committee on petition of twenty-five per cent. of the membership of the League, and not until such membership reaches two thousand five hundred.

## ARTICLE IX.

### Changes in Constitution—Election and Recall of Officers.

Sec. 1. Changes in the Constitution may be initiated at a general meeting by majority vote of the delegates, but must be made the subject of a Referendum and obtain a majority vote of all the membership before becoming operative.

Sec. 2. All general officers must be elected or re-elected by ballot at each general meeting.

Sec. 3. Officers may be recalled by a majority vote to declare an office vacant initiated by a twenty-five per cent. petition addressed to any person named in the petition as election officer.

## ARTICLE X.

The signing of the Constitution assumes the acceptance of the principles set forth therein, and has the force of a pledge to aid in carrying out the purposes which it describes as the objects of association, epitomized as follows.

(a) Organized study of political economy by the useful workers as a preliminary to intelligent political action.

(b) An alliance of these to place them in control of the machinery of legislation and government.

(c) The securing of the passage of an up-to-date and effective direct legislation bill to establish the rule of the people.

(d) The raising of provincial revenue by the taxation of unimproved land values.

(e) The employment of taxation and taxes for the rescue of the natural resources and public utilities from private control dangerous to the public interest.

(f) The establishment of state industries, if found to be necessary for the adequate protection of the people from the exploitations of "Big Business," or if generally regarded as desirable for other economic reasons.

Note.—Until recalled, or until a General Meeting is held, it is arranged, with the consent of the Founders of the League, that R. M. Douglas, J. Styon and D. Ross, of Strassburg, Saskatchewan, shall act as a General Educational Committee, with R. M. Douglas as Chairman and D. Ross as Secretary, and that E. A. Partridge, 414 Chambers of Commerce, Winnipeg, shall act as Registrar.

It is proposed to invite Dr. Bland, of Wesley College, Winnipeg, and F. J. Dixon, Lecturer on Direct Legislation and Taxation of Land Values, 422 Chambers of Commerce, Winnipeg, to act as Associate Members of the Educational Committee.

THE END

# SUPPLEMENT

## APPENDIX A.

List of Leaflets, Pamphlets and Books Suitable for the Purposes  
of the No-Party League. Passed by the General  
Educational Committee.

### Direct Legislation.

1. Direct Legislation, or the Initiative and Referendum. What it is and why we need it. By R. L. Scott. 5c a copy, 25 copies \$1.00.
2. The Reign of the People. The case for Direct Legislation. By Seymour J. Farmer. 5c per copy, 50 copies \$1.00.
3. A Primer of Direct Legislation. By Prof. Frank Parsons and others. 5c per copy.

### Taxation of Land Values.

4. Farmers Would Like It. By Tom L. Johnson. 12c per dozen.
5. The Single Tax and the Farmer. By Joseph Fells. 12c per dozen.
6. The Single Tax. What it is and Why We Urge it. By Henry George. 6 copies 12c.
7. Right to the Use of the Earth. By Herbert Spencer. 6 copies 12c.
8. The Land of Your Children. By Emil Felden. 6 copies for 12c.
9. The Single Tax and the Farmer. By Thomas G. Shearman. 5c per copy.
10. The Story of My Dictatorship. By Berens and Singer. 5c per copy.
11. Land, Labor, Wealth. The Coming Civilization. By Leo Francis Lybarger. 25c per copy. An examination into the cause and consequences of the concentration of wealth and a proposed remedy therefor—an illuminating booklet.
12. The Story of New Zealand. Price (reduced from \$3.00 by arrangement with publisher) \$2.25, postage paid.

The small farmers, little traders and wage workers of New Zealand many years ago united for political action, and have ever since dictated the policy of the government. They did not form a party, but simply formed an alliance with one another to support candidates who represented their common point of view politically. New Zealand has long been recognized as having the most progressive government in the world. To quote from "The Story of New Zealand": "The Government of New Zealand, or, more accurately, the Commonwealth, owns over half the land, most of the banks, about all the railways, all the telegraphs and telephones, the post office, the express service—it also owns some hotels and sanitariums, gas and electric plants, warehouses, water works, docks and steamers, besides forests, farms and mines; and its system of employment bureaux, loan offices and insurance agencies extends throughout the Commonwealth. It is the largest receiver of rents and the largest employer of labor. It has the largest life insurance business and the largest business as trustee of estates. It acts as chief commission merchant, chief educator, chief conveyancer, chief co-operator, chief arbitrator and chief defender."

To have "The Story of New Zealand" generally read by the wage workers, little traders and small farmers, would almost certainly cause these to unite their voting strength to elect those who would use the public credit, the common resources and the machinery of government to rescue the people from their present poverty and slavish dependence upon the will of those who possess the natural and artificial means of wealth production, distribution and exchange. Those who own these things—the forests, the mines, the arable lands, the manufactories, the machines, the patents, the railways, the terminals, the warehouses, the docks, the steamships, the bank charters, and through these latter enjoy the control of the money supply and of credits, also own majorities in the legislatures. But some day the people will come to recognize that "the rich man only has one vote till the poor man sells him more."

A copy of "The Story of New Zealand" should be at the disposal of the members of each local, and be made the textbook for a study course in practical politics in the public interest.

Nos. 1 to 11 can be procured from F. J. Dixon, Secretary for the Direct Legislative League of Manitoba and the Manitoba League for the Taxation of Land Values, 422 Chambers of Commerce, Winnipeg:

No. 12 by addressing E. A. Partridge, 414 Chambers of Commerce, Winnipeg.

## APPENDIX B.

### Why Our Producers are Poor.

**Three Great Burdens Imposed by Capital Upon Production; Usurious Rates of Interest, Tariff Taxation, Including the Protective Principles, Excessive Freight Rates.**

By R. Mackenzie.

These excessive burdens have been brought about and are becoming more and more intensified each year by a new economic force that has made its presence felt in Canada within recent years; that is, a great centralization of capital due to the consummation of a large number of industrial amalgamations. Fifty-six industrial mergers were negotiated from January, 1909, to January, 1910. The aggregate authorized capitalization, including bonds, in these mergers was \$455,938,266. The 56 amalgamations absorbed 248 individual companies. The aggregate capitalization of 206 of these individual companies was approximately \$168,289,182.

This form of exploitation has not been confined to merely a few classes of commodities. Companies handling soap, cereals, asbestos, bread, flour, milk, cars, leather, ice, felts, cement, lumber, dried fish, carriages, bolts and nuts, steel, coal, shoes, furs, crockery, paint, and jewelry have all seen apparent or real gain in a combination of interest. Arrangements have also been made between navigation, light and power, brewery, canning and other companies.

This consolidation of individual companies into combines, and combines into trusts, has the further effect of centralizing capital and power into the hands of a few individuals. It is stated on good authority that Canada's economic structure is in control of about 20 capital directors, who are members of 90 of the 121 corporations of Canada having a capitalization of \$500,000 or over. This combination of capital and industry has been made possible through protection from outside competition.

The same men control our banking institutions, our loan companies, our insurance companies, our transportation companies, and our industrial institutions.

Within recent years the percentage of earnings and capital of all financial institutions, transportation companies, and manufacturing industries has largely increased, while there is a corresponding decrease in the earnings of capital and labor invested in farm production. The following list will indicate the earnings of some of our financial institutions and aggregated industries.

Memo. of Canadian Banks, showing paid-up capital, net profits for the last financial year, and per cent. of profits made on capital:

Name.	Capital.	Net Profit.	Per Cent.
Metropolitan Bank .....	\$1,000,000	\$ 168,841.58	14 1-3
Bank of Toronto.....	5,000,000	835,787.04	15 ¾
Royal Bank of Canada./..	500,000	1,527,324.77	13 1-3
Bank of Hamilton.....	3,000,000	495,860.50	16 1-3
Bank of Commerce.....	15,000,000	2,400,000	16.
Bank of Vancouver.....	825,000	40,395	4 ¾
Bank of Nova Scotia.....	4,642,000	970,544	20 ¾
Bank of Montreal .....	16,000,000	2,518,408	15 ¾
Standard Bank .....	2,429,275	462,079	31.08
Montreal Savings Bank...		233,433	
Dominion Bank .....	5,000,000	901,529	18
Union Bank .....	5,000,000	706,832	14
Quebec Bank .....	2,500,000	294,804	11 ¾
Northern Crown Bank....	2,677,996	291,094	10 ¾
Bank of Ottawa .....	2,500,000	640,220	18 1-3
Merchants Bank .....	6,747,690	1,388,844	18 ¾
Bank of B. N. A. ....	4,866,666	632,007	13
Sterling Bank .....	991,895	1,004,340	12 2-3
Imperial Bank .....	6,000,000	140,030	16 2-3
Home Bank .....	1,288,311		10 ¾

Memo. of Canadian Trust and Loan Companies, showing paid-up capital, net profits for the last financial year, and per cent. of profit made on capital:

Name.	Capital.	Net Profit.	%
Dominion Trust Co. ....	\$2,000,000	\$335,063	16 ¾
Standard Trust Co. ....	750,000	104,982	14
Toronto General Trust.....	1,250,000	233,915	10 4-5
Union Trust .....	1,000,000	206,401	20 2-3
London & Can. Loan Co.....	1,000,000	156,588	15 2-3
Canada Landed & N. Invest...	1,205,000	169,569	14
Toronto Mortgage .....	724,550	102,130	14
Standard Loan Co. ....	1,112,963	255,425	22 ¼
Northern Canadian Mort. ....	410,755	36,030	8 ¾
Canada Trust Co. ....	476,925	41,276	8 ¾
Huron & Erie Loan & Sav....	2,100,000	425,385	20 ¼
Canada Permanent .....		826,799	
Northern Trusts .....	1,452,980	147,786	10
Northern Mortgage .....	1,091,858	82,786	8
Home Investment .....	856,510		14.55
National Trusts .....	1,500,000	242,942	16 ¾

Name.	Capital.	Net. Profit.	%
Canada West Securities .....	800,000	132,933	16 2-3
Empire Loan .....	366,172	36,176	9 3/4
Ontario Loan & Debenture....	1,750,000	238,543	13 3/4
Commercial Loan & Trust....	203,172	54,219	15
Hamilton P. & Loan Society..	1,160,000	145,769	12 1/2

To show the effect that ocean vessel and lake freight boat charges controlled by amalgamation of interests have on the cost of carrying grain from Fort William, the average freight charge for 1911, from Fort William to Liverpool, was 10 3/4 c per bus.; in 1912, 15 c per bus., and in May, 1913, 17 c per bus.

Here is an illustration of how protection reduces the purchasing power of farm produce:

A farmer importing a suit of clothes invoiced to him at \$10.00 would have to give in exchange 13 1-3 bus. of wheat at 75 c a bus. But the customs officer interferes and says: "You will have to pay \$3.00 duty on that suit of clothes," thus compelling the farmer to contribute 4 bushels more before he can get the suit. That is to say, the purchasing power of his wheat in this case is reduced, one-third. But the farmers do not import their goods direct; they get them in the ordinary course of business, and by the time the goods pass through the hands of the wholesaler, the jobber and retailer, the burden of protection is very much increased. Importers and merchants add a percentage for profit to the cost of their goods delivered in their warehouse.

Suppose a farmer sells a carload of wheat containing 1,000 bushels at 75 c a bushel, he gets \$750.00. At present cost of transportation he has to give \$250.00 for transporting that car of wheat to Liverpool, to say nothing of cost of insurance, storage, interest and dealers' profit. The importer imports goods in quantities, hands them over to the jobber in broken lots, and the jobber to the retailer in still smaller quantities. Wheat exported is not paid for in cash by the importing country; goods are given in exchange. The Canadian importer gets a bill of exchange for this carload of wheat which in Britain is worth \$1,000.00, and buys with it an assortment of goods, clothing, woollens, cutlery, hardware, graniteware, crockery, and the thousand other things that a farmer needs on his farm. At the port of landing he is met by a customs officer, who compels him to pay about 25% of the value of the goods, or \$250.00, before he gets possession of them. Of course, the importer adds this to the cost of his goods and passes it on. Say he sells his goods to the jobber at 10% profit; he adds 10% to the \$250.00 duty, and passes it on to the jobber at



\$275.00. The jobber adds his 15% profit, or \$41.25, and passes it on to the retailer. The retailer, in his turn, adds 25% profit, which is \$78.06, and passes it on to the consumer at \$395.31. That is, the \$250.00 duty that the importer paid amounts to \$395.31 before it reaches the consumer.

The farmer has to dispose of an additional 526 bushels of wheat before he can buy the goods exchanged for his car of wheat. That is the price he pays for protection. Unquestionably the excessive freight rates are a burden, and should be reduced. But you will note that the freight rates do not burden the Western farmers nearly as much as protection does. We cannot do without transportation, but we can do without protection. Transportation charges can be reduced, but cannot be cut out. Protection can be cut out, and should be, and Western farmers should make up their minds that it shall be.

If the people must be levied upon under shelter of a tariff wall, as protectionists tacitly admit, to furnish capital for manufactories owned by individuals or companies to enable them to attain the size and strength necessary to successfully meet competitors in the world market, would it not be better for the state to own such manufactories so that the money contributed by all the people should remain the property of all the people, instead of becoming the possession of a privileged few?

A brilliant example of amalgamation effected under the shelter of a tariff wall is the combining of the following companies into The Dominion Canneries, Ltd.:

Aylmer Canning Co.  
Brighton Canning Co.  
Kent Canning Co.  
Dresden Canning Co.  
F. R. Lalor Canning Co.  
Grimsby Canning Co.  
Simcoe Canning Co.  
Imperial Canning Co.  
Lake Prot Canning Co.  
Warehouse.  
Delhi Canning Co.  
A. C. Miller.  
W. Boulter & Sons.  
Port Hope Pres. & Canning Co.  
Ontario Pure Food Co.  
Kent Canning Co.  
Strathroy Canning Co.  
Lowery Bros.  
Miller & Co.  
Bowlby Bros.

Belle River Canning Co.  
L. N. Schenck & Co.  
A. B. Taylor Canning Co.  
Wellington Packing Co.  
Leamington Cannig Co.  
Amherst Canning Co.  
Aylmer Company, Condensed Milk.  
Belville Canning Co.  
Bloomfield Packing Co.  
Farmers Canning Co.  
Burlington Canning Co.  
Hillier Preserving Co.  
Jordan Station Canning & Pre.  
Napanea Canning Co.  
Niagara Falls Canning Co.  
J. H. Wethey, Limited.  
St. Thomas Canning Co.  
Tilbury Canning Co., Ltd.  
Lakeside Canning Co.,

The combined capital of the above companies before amalgamation is given as \$1,324,000, which was increased in the merger to \$12,500,000, \$5,000,000 of which was common stock.

This merger removed all competition between domestic manufacturers of canned fruit and vegetables in Canada, and with a protective tariff which on canned goods averages over 30%, gave them a practical monopoly of the canning industry. This naturally has the one possible result—squeezing of the consumer.

The average price paid farmers for tomatoes last year at Ontario factories was 30c per bushel. In some cases the price ran as low as 27½c. It is stated that a bushel of these tomatoes will, under ordinary conditions, fill ten cans, the price of which to the consumer in Western Canada is 20c per can. That is to say, what the Ontario farmer gets 3c for, the Manitoba farmer pays 20c for. The manufacturers' census of 1911 shows the surplus earnings of factories of fruit and vegetables to be equal to 50% of the capital employed in the business. At the annual meeting of the Dominion Canneries, Ltd., in December last it was given out that the net earnings of the company, after paying all fixed charges, were 12% on the common stock, which is supposed to represent nothing but water.

## APPENDIX C.

### "Getting Down to Brass Tacks."

By E. A. Partridge.

It is about time the working farmers of Western Canada were "getting down to brass tacks" in their efforts to improve the conditions under which they are vainly trying to get a decent living, rear and properly equip their families for the business of life, and make reasonable provision for their old age.

Things are in a bad way with them, with no prospect of improvement unless some very heroic remedies be applied to the situation.

They, as a class, are mortgaged to the hilt. Their bank indebtedness is as large as the bankers will permit it to be. Then on top of this is piled their obligations to the implement men.

On the other hand, their land is becoming all the time more infested with wild oats and other weed pests, making the average yield continually less and the cost of farming more.

They pay the highest prices for clothing, furniture, building material, such as cement, lumber, lime and hardware, and for all farm equipment, hand tools, harness, implements, power machin-

ery, power fuel and fencing materials, of any agricultural population in the world. They pay the highest rate of interest on bank loans and mortgages and the highest freight and express rates, coupled with the longest freight haul for outgoing produce and incoming supplies, of any people of the white race, with the possible exception of the Russians. Harvest help is high priced and of low efficiency.

In disposing of their wheat, flax, oats, barley, cattle and hogs, they find their markets controlled and manipulated by a few large buyers who enjoy a monopoly of credit, and often of transportation, as lake, rail and ocean freights are constantly speculated in and oftentimes cornered, to the great injury of the producers and without any benefit to consumers. Outside of this, there are the rottenest kind of grain marketing conditions, a chronic cat shortage, aggravated by discrimination between shippers and shipping points, forcing sale to local buyers at ruinous spreads, and congestion at the terminals, further demoralizing the market. There is no sample market to temper the injustices of the grading system, and no order points nor special binning conditions nor regulations at the terminals, such as would make a sample market effective if established. Sorting of grades and mixing are prohibited in the terminal elevators. Nevertheless, barefaced mixing of grades and sorting of grain is accomplished by the dealers, much of it prior to purchase, through the use made of numerous hospital elevators in Fort William and Port Arthur having a more or less known business connection with grain companies operating lines of country elevators and terminal houses. Despite more or less earnest attempts at regulation, terminal elevators continue to give light weights, ship out as "straight" grade grain that was graded as "tough," fail to clean grain to dockage requirements before export, and continue to sell or loan grain belonging to the common stock. But why should we expect effective government regulation while our parliaments are composed of the owners, or the representatives of the owners, of the businesses to be regulated, instead of representatives of the common people and the common interest?

As I write, J. P. Jones, general manager of the Thunder Bay and Empire Terminal Elevator Companies, has been given a seat on the Board of Grain Commissioners. It will be of interest to farmers to learn that this Mr. Jones was one of the managers of terminal elevators who several years ago were haled before a police magistrate on the complaint of Mr. Castle, the Warehouse Commissioner, and their Companies proved to have been guilty of making false returns to government and of mixing grades contrary to law, and fined. Jones, having

such practical and intimate knowledge of terminal elevator business, will know how to catch the bad elevator men all right, all right. Mr. Castle, after fourteen years of service, has no other alternative, as a self-respecting man, than resignation.

But there are other troubles to face.

While the older lands are being ruined by the methods of farming followed in the West, now almost of necessity by poor men, new areas are being opened up and exploited to enrich speculators, and with the result of further complicating the situation for our hard pressed farmers.

Over-production of wheat and oats is imminent, while over-production of barley and flax is already here. Mixed farming, the only kind that well-ordered nations should permit within their borders, cannot be generally engaged in by those now confining themselves exclusively to grain production, because there is not a proper balance between farmers and other producers in the West to provide for the local consumption of the products of mixed farming, and export is impossible under present cost conditions. Moreover, most of our so-called farmers are just grain growers, and have no practical knowledge of the arts involved in mixed farming. Nor does the next generation seem likely to be better equipped to wrestle with the mixed farming problem. With their parents disheartened with debt, devoured by usury, high freight rates and exorbitant cost of the monopoly-controlled manufactures they must buy, the children are growing up ignorant, inefficient, and too often with a bad warp to their characters due to the hypocracies and shame of modern business and manufacture.

Something must be done more than has yet been done, or even planned to do, in this country, if we are to save the people who are trying to make a decent living by working, from poverty due to the exactions of those who are getting an abundant living without giving, or ever having given, any equivalent of service for it.

While our legislators at Ottawa are wrangling over how thirty-five millions of dollars shall be spent to protect us from a possible foreign foe, foes of our own household, paunchy pirates belching patriotism, are robbing the homes, raiding the farms and possessing themselves of the public domain as no foreign invader would dare to do under the rules of modern warfare.

Yet after all it is not so much what wealth has been fished away from the workers, as what they have been hindered from creating by the monopoly of opportunity due to an acceptance of the principle of private ownership of natural resources and public utilities, that leaves the mass of humanity so poor and ill-equipped for the work of wealth production.

## What Ought We Farmers to do?

New Zealand has done much, as shown in her political history, that we might imitate with great advantage to our people. But without breaking Canada in two at the Great Lakes, which I fear our people have neither the sense nor the digestive apparatus to do, and organizing the Western half into a real country, by abolishing its provincial governments and creating a single legislative body to govern the whole, we would find it impossible to carry out her accomplished programme and promised budget of progressive legislation in a national way.

Much, however, might be done through provincial activity and Western inter-provincial agreement.

In 1890 the wage workers, little traders and small farmers of New Zealand combined their voting strength to elect candidates representing the common interest of the productive workers as opposed to the capitalistic interest. They did not originate a party; they just elected enough real representatives to change the character of the legislative body. Since then monopoly has had a hard time in New Zealand.

Having secured control of that most important of all public utilities, the government, the people proceeded to use it to smash the monopolies that were oppressing them. Law which had previously been used to bolster plutocracy was now used to advance the cause of democracy.

Land monopoly and the "money ring" were given their quietus. Graded taxation and public ownership of land and credit were the means employed. The government now owns half the land in New Zealand. Anyone may become a tenant of the Commonwealth at a reasonable rental, or buy a small freehold at a moderate price.

The government operates a great central bank, and each post office is a branch of it, where deposits may be made and funds checked out. The Commonwealth is the chief loan and trust company, and does a tremendous insurance business.

It loans money to workmen to build homes on the security of them, and to small traders and farmers on buildings, land and stock. On instalment loans a rate of  $5\frac{1}{2}\%$  takes care of the interest charge, and pays off the principal in  $36\frac{1}{2}$  years. Lesser rates are given on time loans. Applications for loans are made and interest paid on them at the post office.

The government owns the forests and manufactures, and sells the lumber; it burns lime; it owns and operates coal mines; it owns and operates the post office, parcels post and express, telephones, telegraphs, railways, cold storage for produce for export, docks and steamers; and it acts as commission merchant for sale of farm products.

It trains its willing but incompetent citizens for effective work as producers. In old age it pensions the needy who have led reputable lives.

The foregoing is surely full of suggestion to our wage workers, little business men and small farmers.

Let them form an alliance as their fellows in New Zealand did. But let them first organize an educational movement as a preparation for later intelligent political action. Let them study the facts and theories of sociology and political economy and the history of peoples more progressive than themselves. Then by constituencies as fast as public opinion is sufficiently unified in them, let them select and elect those who will properly represent these unified ideas. It is well worth remembering that when enough people want the same thing, want it badly, and know how many and who want it, nothing can stop them from getting it.

Successful action in the field of federal politics wide enough to materially influence federal legislation seems scarcely possible for years to come; but control of the machinery of legislation and government in the Western provinces should be speedily and easily accomplished by such an educational movement and political alliance.

Each province can establish its own bank, its own trust, loan and insurance business. It can own and operate its own railways and coal mines; own its own forests, cement and limestone deposits and manufacture its lumber, cement and lime. It can, in fact, establish manufactories for the making of all things the prices of which are unduly enhanced by a combine, a protective tariff or a costly freight haul. By its control of taxation it can not alone provide money for its state enterprises, but it can tax monopoly so heavily as to abolish it. By its entry into the banking, trust, loan and insurance business it can acquire such a control of currency that it can smash the "money ring" and destroy the monopoly of credit that now cripples industry, restrains trade, and loads the people with debt, bearing usurious rates of interest.

By its heavy taxation of the owners of great wealth it should provide the means for having every child taught some useful trade, and, possessing the necessary natural gifts, equipped with a sound general education as well.

Education in youth, opportunity in manhood to make and enjoy a decent living, and security against want in sickness and old age, should be the irreducible minimum in every country laying claim to be counted civilized.

In the meantime there is a crisis to be faced. The country is sunk in debt and a money squeeze is at hand, with overproduction of grain in sight.

Our farmers should at once try to lessen their money obligations and curtail their expenditure in order to make the consequences of a panic less disastrous to them.

They can best do this by reducing their holdings of land by sale to incoming settlers who have money. This will lessen their mortgage indebtedness and curtail their interest charges, lessen the demand for new machinery and avoid to a large extent the employment of harvest help, make the maintenance of schools and other local institutions easier and keep the incoming settlers off the new lands held by speculators. This latter is an important consideration with over-production threatening them.

The reduction in the size of their holdings will have the further benefit of preparing the small farmers to escape the weight of a graded land tax aimed at large operating holders as well as speculators, since bonanza farming must for many reasons be discouraged almost as much as speculation.

Either by co-operative effort, or by governmental action, a repair system for farm machinery should be provided, so that the cost of repairs and repairing could be greatly reduced and the need for purchasing new machinery almost done away with till prices become more reasonable and the farmers get on a cash basis. Also the provincial governments should do whatever seems most practicable to break the gasoline monopoly. A Dominion-wide agitation to permit the manufacture of alcohol for power purposes without payment of an excise tax or other vexatious restrictions might be financed and engineered by them with satisfactory results. My personal opinion is that if there were no restrictions whatever upon the manufacture and sale of alcohol, there would soon be much less drinking than there is now, while the political situation would be much improved by the wiping out of the liquor interests, always unduly active in politics.

For our farmers to prepare themselves for the intelligent exercise of the franchise will require much reading and thinking, and thinking oftentimes causes headache to those unaccustomed to it. But a little headache in this generation will mean much less backache and heartache in the next, and therefore should be endured.

In closing, let me offer this advice to electors:

If you want legislation and government in the interest of those who live and desire to live by owning, elect an owner or the hireling of an owner; if you want legislation and government in the interest of those who live and desire to live by working, let your choice fall on one who himself lives and desires to live by working.

